ORIGINAL PAPERS,

CONSISTING OF

A LETTER

FROM THE LATE

EARL OF HARDWICKE

TO

A NEAR RELATION,

ON THE SUBJECT OF A

Miniſterial Negociation in the Year 1763.

AND ALSO

A LETTER

FROM THE

HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE

TO THE

REVERENDO DOCTOR BIRCH.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. JARVIS, No. 283, Strand;
and Sold alſo by J. DEBRETT, Piccadilly.

MDCCLXXXV.

[Entered at Stationer's Hall.]

BRITISH MUSEUM

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE ſubject of the following Letter is yet recent enough to excite curioſity; and as to its originality, it will never be queſtioned by thoſe who are at all acquainted with the diſtinguiſhed characters who are concerned in it, or with the ſingular event to which it alludes.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

EXTRACT *of a* LETTER *from the Earl of* H———E *to Lord Viſcount* R——N.

Wimple, Sept. 4*, 1763.

I HAVE heard the whole from the Duke of Newcaſtle, and on Friday morning *de ſource* from Mr. Pitt. But if I was to attempt to relate in writing all that I have heard in two converſations of two hours each, the dotterels and wheat-ears would ſtink before I could finiſh my letter. Beſides, it is as ſtrange as it is long, for I believe it is the moſt extraordinary tranſaction

* Sunday.

that ever happened in any Court in Europe, even in times as extraordinary as the preſent.

I will begin, as the affair has gone on, *prepoſterouſly*, by telling you, that it is all over for the preſent, and we are all come back *re infecta*.

It began, as to the ſubſtance, by a meſſage from my Lord B—e to Mr. Pitt at Hayes, through my Lord Mayor, to give him the meeting *privately* at ſome third place. This his Lordſhip (Lord B.) afterwards altered by a note from himſelf, ſaying, that as he loved to do things openly, he would come to Mr. Pitt's houſe in Jermyn-ſtreet in broad day-light. They met accordingly, and Lord B—e, after the firſt compliments, frankly acknowledged, that his Miniſtry could not go on, and that the **** was convinced of it, and therefore he (Lord B.) deſired that Mr.

Pitt

Pitt would open himſelf frankly and at large, and tell him his ideas of things and perſons with the utmoſt freedom. After much excuſe and hanging back, Mr. Pitt did ſo with the utmoſt freedom indeed, though with civility. Here I muſt leave a long blank, to be filled up when I ſee you. Lord B—e heard with great attention and patience; entered into no defence; but at laſt ſaid, "If theſe are your opinions, why "ſhould you not tell them to the **** "himſelf, who will not be unwilling "to hear you?"—*How can I, my Lord, preſume to go to the* ****, *who am not of his Council, nor in his ſervice, and have no pretence to aſk an audience? The preſumption would be too great.* "But ſuppoſe his M——y ſhould order you "to attend him. I preſume, Sir, you "would not refuſe it."—*The* ****'s *command would make it my duty, and I ſhould certainly obey it.*

This was on laſt Thurſday ſe'n-night*. On the next day (Friday) Mr. Pitt received from the **** *an open note unſealed*, requiring him to attend his M——y on Saturday noon at the Q——'s Palace in the Park. In obedience hereto, Mr. Pitt went on Saturday at noon-day through the Mall in his gouty chair, the boot of which (as he ſaid himſelf) makes it as much known as if his name was writ upon it, to the Q——'s Palace. He was immediately carried into the Cloſet, received very graciouſly, and his M——y began in like manner as his *quondam* Favourite had done, by ordering him to tell him his opinion of things and perſons at large, and with the utmoſt freedom; and, I think, did in ſubſtance make the like confeſſion, that he thought his preſent Miniſters could not go on. The audience laſted three hours, and Mr. Pitt went through the

* Auguſt 25.

whole

whole upon both heads more fully than he had done to Lord B---e, but with great complaiſance and douceur to the ****: and his M——y gave him a very gracious accueil, and heard with great patience and attention. And Mr. Pitt affirms, that in general, and upon the moſt material points, he appeared by his manner, and many of his expreſſions, to be convinced. But here I muſt again avail myſelf of my *long blank*, and only make one general deſcription; that Mr. Pitt went through the infirmities of the peace; the things neceſſary and hitherto neglected to improve and preſerve it; the preſent ſtate of the nation, both foreign and domeſtic; the great Whig families and perſons which had been driven from his Majeſty's Council and Service, which it would be for his intereſt to reſtore. In doing this he repeated many names, upon which his M——y told him there was pen, ink, and paper, and he wiſhed

he

he would write them down. Mr. Pitt humbly excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, *that* would be too much for him to take upon him, and he might upon his memory omit ſome material perſons, which might be ſubject to imputation. The **** ſtill ſaid, he liked to hear him, and bid him go on, but ſaid now and then that his honour muſt be conſulted; to which Mr. Pitt anſwered in a very courtly manner. His M—— ordered him to come again on Monday, which he did to the ſame place, and in the ſame public manner.

Here comes in a parentheſis, that on Sunday Mr. Pitt went to Claremont, and acquainted the D. of Newcaſtle with the whole, fully perſuaded, from the ****'s manner and behaviour, that the thing would do; and that on Monday the outlines of the new arrangement would be ſettled. This produced the meſſages to thoſe Lords, who were

ſent

ſent for. Mr. Pitt undertook to write to the Duke of Devonſhire and the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Newcaſtle to myſelf.

But behold the cataſtrophe of Monday§. The **** received him equally graciouſly; and that audience laſted near two hours. The **** began, that he had conſidered of what had been ſaid, and talked ſtill more ſtrongly of his honour. His M—— then mentioned Lord Halifax for the Treaſury, ſtill proceeding upon the ſuppoſition of a change. To this Mr. Pitt heſitated an objection——that certainly Lord Halifax ought to be conſidered, but that he ſhould not have thought of him for the Treaſury. Suppoſe his M------ ſhould think fit to give his Lordſhip the Paymaſter's place. The **** replied,---"But, Mr. Pitt, I had "deſigned that for poor G. Grenville.

§ Auguſt 29.

"He

" He is your near relation, and you " once loved him."---To this the only anſwer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait. " Why," ſays his M------, " ſhould not Lord " Temple have the Treaſury? You " could go on then very well."---*Sir, the perſon, whom you ſhall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot poſſibly go on without a Treaſury connected with him. But that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families who have ſupported the Revolution Government, and other great perſons, of whoſe abilities and integrity the public has had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I ſhould only deceive your M------, if I ſhould leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your M------ make a ſolid Adminiſtration on any other foot.* " Well, Mr. Pitt, I " ſee (or I fear) this won't do. My " honour is concerned, and I muſt ſup- " port it."---*Et ſic finita eſt fabula. Vos valete,*

valete, but I cannot with a ſafe conſcience add, *plaudite*. I have made my ſkeleton larger than I intended at firſt, and I hope you will underſtand it. Mr. Pitt profeſſes himſelf firmly perſuaded, that my Lord B--- was ſincere at firſt, and that the **** was in earneſt the firſt day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, ſome ſtrong effort was made, which produced the alteration.

Mr. Pitt likewiſe affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negociation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole: but that if the **** ſhall aſſign any particular reaſon for it, he will never *contradict it*.

My ſtory has been ſo long, though in truth a very ſhort abridgement, that I ſhall not lengthen it by obſervations, but leave you to make your own. It

will certainly be given out, that the reaſon was the unreaſonable extent of Mr. Pitt's plan---a general rout; and the Minority, after having complained ſo much of proſcriptions, have endeavoured to proſcribe the Majority. I aſked Mr. Pitt the direct queſtion, and he aſſured me, that although he thought himſelf obliged to name a great many perſons for his own exculpation, yet he did not name above five or ſix for particular places. I muſt tell you, that one of theſe was your humble ſervant for the Preſident's place. This was entirely without my authority or privity. But the ****'s anſwer was, "Why, Mr. Pitt, it is vacant and "ready for him, and he knows he "may have it to-morrow, if he thinks "fit."

I conjectured that this was ſaid with regard to what had paſſed with poor Lord Egremont, which made me think it

it neceſſary to tell Mr. Pitt in general what had paſſed with that Lord (not owning that his Lordſhip had offered it directly in the ****'s name) and what I had anſwered, which he, in his way, much commended.

This obliges me to deſire, that you will ſend me by the bearer my letter to you, which you were to communicate to my Lord Lyttelton, that I may ſee how I have ſtated it there, for I have no copy.

I ſhall now make you laugh, though ſome parts of what goes before make me melancholy, to ſee the **** ſo committed, and his M—— ſubmitting to it, &c. But what I mean will make you laugh is, that the Miniſters are ſo ſtung with this admiſſion, that they cannnot go on (and what has paſſed on this occaſion will certainly make them leſs able to go on), and with my

Lord B—'s having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they ſay Lord B— has attempted to ſacrifice them to his own fears and timidity; that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him. And I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord Halifax and George Grenville have declared, that he is to go beyond ſea, and reſide for a twelvemonth or more. You know a certain *Cardinal* was twice exiled out of France, and governed France as abſolutely whilſt he was abſent as when he was preſent.

The whole tranſaction related in the above letter, tho' it evidently breathes the lofty and impracticable ſpirit of a Chatham, muſt be owned, however, not to diſplay that confirmed and determined inveteracy to the Earl of Bute,

of

of the exiſtence of which Lord Chatham ſo anxiouſly and ſo pertinaciouſly endeavoured to convince his cotemporaries. Nothing like an objection is intimated in the courſe of this negociation againſt an official co-operation with Lord Bute, although he was at the moment of this treaty the conſtant and diurnal object of the noble patriot's attack and reprobation in the Senate.

Whether this evident flexibility in politics is entirely hereditary in the preſent Premier, and whether he has the true intereſts of his country, and the preſervation of its admirable conſtitution, at heart, muſt be left to the determination of Time, who has brought theſe papers to light, and who, when the heat and turbulence of party ſhall ſubſide, will perhaps aſcertain the true meaſure of patriotiſm and virtue.

The following letter breathes ſuch a ſpirit of liberality, that the Editor could not think himſelf juſtified in ſuppreſſing it from the eye of the public. Let thoſe, who are engaged in writing Hiſtory, profit by ſuch exalted ſentiments, while the Editor indulges himſelf in the melancholy pleaſure of contemplating the character of a man, who, if he had been permitted to live, would have been an honour to the human ſpecies; bnt who, in the bloſſom of life, while all his honours were repining around him, was untimely cropt, at the moment of their burſting into maturity and ſplendor, by the rude, the unfeeling hand of Party!——

Oſtendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
Eſſe ſinunt.

As no monument has been erected to the memory of the illuſtrious ſon, any more than to that of his venerable father—

His ſaltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere.

To Dr. BIRCH.

Sat. Morn. Oct. 9th, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I THANK you much for the ſheets of Sir Francis Bacon's Letters. They are extremely curious, and well writ, and have made me impatient for the reſt. I have marked in p. 6. a word blundered in printing——Anchor, for Anchoret or Anchorite (Hermit..... ανα χωρητης).

No man deſerves ſo much of the public as you do, for bringing to light ſo many valuable memorials for the illuſtration both of literary and civil Hiſtory in England; but you will forgive me, if I wiſh the words in brackets, f. 31. 32. ſtruck out of the book. They convey no *fact*, and ſince Sir Francis Bacon ſtruck them out of his letter, as con-

conveying a low and indecent flattery to the King, as well as betraying a weakneſs of paſſion and reſentment in himſelf, I think that you have no more right to print them, than you would have if you could read the hearts of men, ſo as to be conſcious of every roving thought or wayward guſt of paſſion, which croſſes them involuntarily and by ſurprize. It is enough if men do not act by them; but to be ſubject to ſuch ſtarts of mind, is matter of conſtitution and part of the mechaniſm of human nature, and ought not to be expoſed, leſt the reader ſhould apply that to the character of the man which never entered into his conduct. You have the beſt heart in the world; but your zeal for the illuſtration of Hiſtory almoſt makes you tranſgreſs thoſe laws which, in the caſe of me, or any other man now alive, you would hold moſt ſacred. Now, though Sir Francis Bacon has been dead almoſt

one

one hundred and forty years, yet I think his fame and his memory more recent, more living, and more bright, than when he was alive. His faults are caſt in the ſhade by the candour of poſterity, and finer colours laid over his virtues, unſullied by envy and detraction (thoſe buſy and malignant paſſions of contemporaries) or even by his own weakneſſes.

Beſides the juſtice due in morality to the man, let me add, that what I am now exacting from you as an Hiſtorian, (or Collector of Hiſtorical Monuments) is due in diſcretion and common policy to the world. For indeed the foibles and vices of great men, celebrated for their parts and actions, too much expoſed to view, only confirm and comfort the vulgar in the like conduct, without teaching to that vulgar the imitation of their virtues.——Give me

leave to add, that this reaſoning is irreſiſtible, where the perſon in queſtion has himſelf checked the feelings and cancelled the firſt expreſſions of his own intemperate paſſion.

Let me beg of you to reprint the leaf § which contains the paſſage objected to, and ſupply the gap either by *Aſteriſks*, or by a *Note*, which the letter well deſerves, as to the ſtate of the King's revenue, then depending in Parliament (or near that time) for deliberation; and which will probably give you an opportunity of vindicating Lord Saliſbury, whom Sir Francis Bacon, with ſo much dignity, gravity, and decorum, calls *a great ſubject and a great ſervant*, in another letter written to the

§ P. 31. The leaf in queſtion has no words in brackets. It ſeems to have been reprinted, a paſſage being ſupplied by aſteriſks; and there is a note in vindication of the Earl of Saliſbury.

King

King immediately after the Treaſurer's death.

Forgive me, dear Sir, and believe me, with true affection, always yours,

C. YORKE.